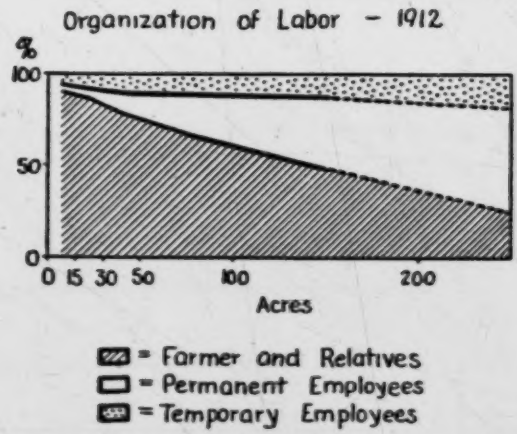
In Clare the same situation is present. Most, if not nearly all, of the work of the small farmers is done by the family relatives. And for the whole county in 1926, 83.5% of all males engaged in agricultural pursuits were farmers or farmers' relatives (and 99 per cent of the rather small number of females). Only in the two districts which we have

FIGURE 4




The chart again shows a constant progression. The larger the farm, the less the dependence upon other members of the family and the more often hired hands are present. The chart begins on the left with a figure of 89 per cent of farmers of 1–15 acres depending upon family help and ends at the right with 24 per cent of farmers of over 200 acres depending upon such help.

already mentioned as regions of large holdings and ranches, Ballyvaughan and Ennis, did the percentage fall appreciably below that figure (to 73 per cent and 75 per cent).

Figure 4 presents this difference in organization of labor for all Ireland in 1912.

Small farmers and large farmers make a different disposal of their products. At the same time there is an exchange of products between the two groups.

These facts are to be got from the many statistics reflect-

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



438 ing the internal trade carried on within Ireland. There we can follow the movement of the goods of production through the population.[15] The writers deal with the statistics reflecting conditions before the advent of the De Valera government (1932) because they are the more complete and because changes introduced since then by the Fianna Fáil domestic and foreign policies had not yet (1935) had time to become the settled habit of the people at the time of the study.

438 In 1930 the majority of the agricultural produce of the Free State was exported. Estimated by the value of the 439 products, the destination of the produce was as follows: £23,000,000 worth, or about 35 per cent, was consumed by the agricultural community; about 17 per cent was consumed by others in the Free State; and about 48 per cent was exported. The greater consumption of agricultural [146] products in the country does not, of course, imply a better diet necessarily, since we are disregarding for the moment the large imports of foodstuffs made by both town and country districts, and since much of the country consumption went into further animal production.

439 Export, of course, was designed for the English market. In terms of specific products, 81 per cent of the cattle and sheep production was exported, 59 per cent of the pigs, 37 per cent of the output of butter and cream.[16]

In other words, only a small part of the output of more expensive cattle and sheep was consumed at home, but, at the other extreme, the cheaper stuffs stayed on the farm. The great bulk of the potatoes and turf produced, and just about one-half of the output of such dairy produce as whole milk, butter, eggs, and poultry, were consumed by the producers. Tillage crops tell the same story; they remained at home. The chief and overwhelmingly important exports were live animals and live animal products, such as butter.

[15] *Agricultural Output of Saorstát Eireann, 1926–27*, pp. 6, 10.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

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County Clare



241 262 511 the cities and larger towns that is unknown on the small farms. The fact is evident when it is observed that Dublin, Cork, and Waterford counties (each dominated numerically by the city of the name) count an average meat consumption taken on the same scale of 69, 40, and 37 pounds per capita respectively.

231 241 439 The difference between the two kinds of farm shows itself again strongly in the export trade from Ireland and in the roles of each in the transfer of farm produce to its ultimate market. The two kinds of farm make a totally different disposal of their produce, particularly their cattle. In this fact we see for the first time that in some regard they have a complementary role. Between them Irish cattle trade is carried on.

231 438 The huge internal Irish cattle trade is thus significant. It reveals itself in the figures as a movement from small farm to large, an interchange between the two kinds of farmers which shows once again their distinctness. The trade is both geographical and social, in the sense that it flows between two sections of Ireland and between her two great agricultural classes.

To get at the facts which show the case demands looking at the statistics of cattle in the Free State. These illustrate clearly how far the internal cattle trade shows up the great difference between the two types of farm. It is necessary to take into consideration the age groups of cattle in the various areas and in the possession of holders of various acreages in those areas. This roundabout course of determining the outlines of internal cattle trade is necessary because there are no barriers or *octrois* at which count might be made as the cattle move from dealer to dealer across the country.

231 The seven southwestern counties are the areas predominant in milch cattle production; they are the areas of the calf-producing cow. Clare is one of these. A chart of birth dates of cattle in various parts of Ireland demonstrates that

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



the majority of the calves in the seven southwestern counties are born in March. A large majority of the calves in the eastern part of the country, the thirteen central eastern counties, are born in April, and a majority of the calves born in the northern tier of counties in the area of the Free State, a region we shall call the six northwestern counties, are born in May. This sort of progression of the birth dates of cattle through the spring months is, of course, related to climatic conditions.

Because such a progression exists, an annual count of cattle taken on the basis of age, undertaken each June first, the beginning of the butter export season, when cows are in full milk, would lead to the strong presumption that cattle recorded as under one year of age at that date would, in fact, nearly all be under three months of age; yearlings so recorded would, in fact, be under fifteen months, and so on. When an actual count was taken in 1926 of the cattle in Ireland, this presumption was borne out. On it is based the following picture of internal cattle trade to be derived from the Report on Agricultural Statistics already quoted.

Following the reasoning of the Report we learn that since "exceedingly few calves are either exported from or slaughtered in the Saorstat and . . . on June 1st, 1926, there were 78 cattle under one year per 100 milch cows, it follows that any district or group of holdings . . . with much less than 78 must have exported them."[21] Then, transferring this device to the annual count of cattle by age, it becomes readily apparent that all of the central eastern counties who count many over 78 cattle under one year of age per 100 milch cows on June first 1926 must have been importing, while the northern counties, Donegal and Leitrim, and the southern counties, Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, with figures much less than 78, must have been exporting. The last three

[21] *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926*, p. xvi.

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



231 438 counties named are the principal members of the group of seven southwestern dairying counties.

A great cattle trade thus takes place between the southwestern dairying area and the "ranching" counties of the central eastern area. When yearlings are taken into account by the same statistics, a fuller picture of this trade emerges. All but one of the central eastern counties has considerably more than 100 yearlings for every 100 calves under a year old, showing that the area is continuing to import the cattle as they grow older. The other sections of the country have considerably fewer than 100 yearlings for every 100 younger cattle, and have been continuing their exports. The principal dairying counties again have the fewest yearlings and are again the leaders in export.

Likewise in counting two-year-olds, the same proportions hold, and in counting cattle over three years old they hold again. In the last two cases, however, northern counties show a greater export than do the dairying counties of the southwest, the latter presumably having got rid of a larger proportion of all cattle not designed for milk production at an earlier age.

[439] The importing central eastern counties are devoted largely to raising and fattening dry store cattle for the British market. And since this is the case, it can be seen that the statistics given above reflect a continuous movement of cattle, calves, yearlings, and two-year-olds to the rich grazing lands of the central plain. Yet to regard this trade as exclusively geographical would be misleading and obscuring, for the profound differences between small and large holders which we have been examining are involved here as well.

Further statistical inquiry demonstrates that the trade takes place as much between the different sized farms as between the regions of different soil and climate. If we correlate proportions of cattle of various ages with the size of the holdings in the various county groups we have already

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



named, rather than with the counties as a whole, this great internal cattle trade takes on the new aspect we mention. For example, figures for calves under one year reach 78 and over per 100 milch cows on holdings of all sizes in the thirteen central eastern counties, holdings of all sizes above 30 acres (the average size) in the northern counties, but only on holdings above 100 acres in the calf-producing dairying southwestern counties. That means that, though holdings of all sizes are importing calves in the "ranching" areas, in the other areas only large farms are importing them.

Taking yearlings next, figures on the table showing more than 100 yearlings per 100 calves under one year old appear on all holdings in the thirteen county midland areas except on the very smallest farms, but in the northern and southwestern areas such figures appear only on the very largest holdings. The midlands import yearlings, particularly in the large farms, and in the rest of the country large farms do likewise, but small farmers get rid of them. Thus in the southwestern counties, holders of 200 acres and over, with a count of 118 yearlings per 100 calves, are importers of cattle produced on other farms, as are holders of 100 acres and over in the northern counties, where the counts of yearlings are 132 for the 100–200 acre group and 154 for the 200 and over group. But small farmers in all counties, regardless of the section of the country in which they live, are exporters, not only in dairying Kerry but even in the flatlands of Meath.

Taking a similar count of dry two-year-old cattle, we find that all small holdings in all areas are still exporting, though the size of holding at which exporting ceases is lower in the central eastern area (the 50–100 acre group), and all large holdings in all areas are still importing, though, conversely, the size of holding at which importing begins is higher in the dairying county region.

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



231
438

For a graphic representation of this argument and its conclusions, let the reader turn to Figures 6 and 7. Figure 6 gives the numbers for various kinds of cattle by various size holdings separated out for the three groups of counties.[22] It shows the characteristic increase of the numbers of store or dry cattle, for export upon holdings as one goes from small to large and from the northern and southern areas of intensive small farm production of different kinds, based upon different soil and climate, to the rich grazing country of the central plain. It shows that one is really dealing with two kinds of increase of holding of dry cattle; the first, the difference of area, and the second, the difference of size of holding. The last seems to be the more important since it has a characteristic influence in each of the areas.

Figure 7 completes the picture. In *A* one sees the characteristic relative absence of milch cows upon large holdings. In *B* one sees that calf production is fairly uniform everywhere. In *C*, however, one begins to see the movement of cattle from small farm to large as the calves grow older. Small holdings have dropped out as possessors of older dry cattle, and through *D* and *E* continue to do so. As the dry cattle mature they become more and more concentrated upon the large holdings. The figure demonstrates at a glance that it is not a geographical trade that is involved so much as it is a trade between the two kinds of economy, between the two rural classes in the Free State.

Numerical statement of the movement of cattle thus shows us that the internal cattle trade in Ireland is in reality a trade between two types of farmers. It reflects again the great difference in the economies of large farmer and small, and shows that this difference extends to their participation in the business, commerce, and export trade of the country. The large farmers are directly concerned with preparation

[22] The figures are based on tables given in *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926*, pp. xvii, xix.

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County Clare

FIGURE 6

PROPORTIONS OF STORE CATTLE TO MILCH CATTLE ON VARIOUS SIZE HOLDINGS IN THE AREAS OF DISTINCTIVE ECONOMY IN THE IRISH FREE STATE

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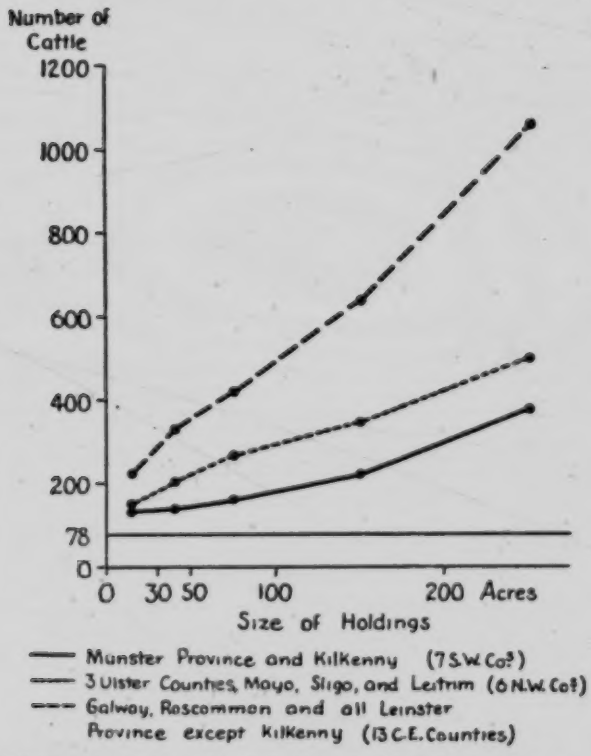
All cattle except milch cows on 1st. June, 1926, per 100 milch cows on that date
Number of Cattle
1200
1000
800
600
400
200
78
0
0 30 50 100 200 Acres
Size of Holdings
Munster Province and Kilkenny (7 S.W. Co's)
3 Ulster Counties, Mayo, Sligo, and Leitrim (6 N.W. Co's)
Galway, Roscommon and all Leinster Province except Kilkenny (13 C.E. Counties)

The three areas are those of distinctive climatic and soil conditions. The northern and southern areas are alike in being suppliers of young cattle, the central area in retaining herds of dry cattle. Yet one can see at a glance that the difference among the broad areas reflects real differences in cattle-holding on small and large acreages. Points on the graph express for each size holding the number of non-milk-producing cattle per 100 cattle. The number of non-milk-producing cattle then ranges from a proportion of 78 to 100, to over 1,000 to 100.

[p. 27]

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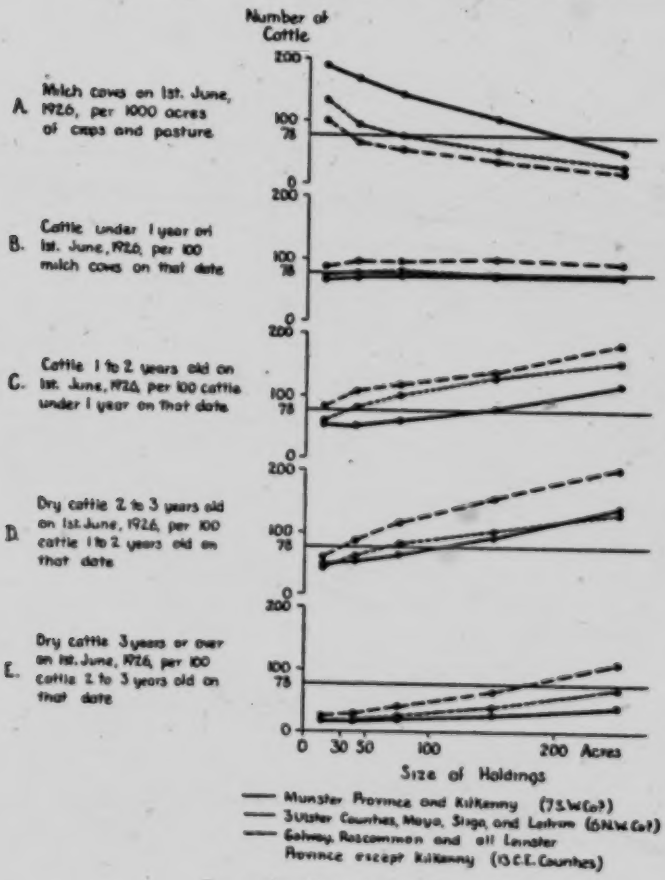
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

231
438

FIGURE 7

CATTLE TRADE BETWEEN CLASSES OF IRISH FARMERS, 1926


Number of Cattle
A. Milch cows on 1st. June, 1926, per 1000 acres of crops and pasture
B. Cattle under 1 year on 1st. June, 1926, per 100 milch cows on that date
C. Cattle 1 to 2 years old on 1st. June, 1926, per 100 cattle under 1 year on that date
D. Dry cattle 2 to 3 years old on 1st. June, 1926, per 100 cattle 1 to 2 years old on that date
E. Dry cattle 3 years or over on 1st. June, 1926, per 100 cattle 2 to 3 years old on that date
200
100
75
0
0 30 50 100 200 Acres
Size of Holdings
Munster Province and Kilkenny (7 S.W.Co's)
3 Ulster Counties, Mayo, Sligo, and Leitrim (6 N.W.Co's)
Galway, Roscommon and all Leinster Province except Kilkenny (10 C.E. Counties)

For explanation see the text.

[p. 28]

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



of cattle for direct shipment to the English market; the small farmers are concerned only remotely, for the large farmer himself is their immediate market. They deal in much younger cattle and prepare them for sale to the middlemen and the big farmers.

Consequently, the small farmers are much less immediately affected by disturbances in the cattle trade with Great Britain. The fact has been evident throughout the years of the De Valera regime. It has blasted the prognostications of those who argued that a restriction and interruption of the trade with England, such as grew up in the "economic war" which followed De Valera's retention of the land annuity payments and the English retaliation in the form of import duties on cattle, would alienate the farmers' support of De Valera's government. It certainly alienated the large farmers, who were immediately affected, but the "farmer" of the politician is not always the whole population of that name. It left the small farmer relatively undisturbed. He was at one or two points removed from the actual trade with England and saw it only as a sale to big farmers. With the small farmers, the economic argument of De Valera's opponents failed.

However this may be, the conclusions as to the great division among farmers that statistics and the cattle trade have yielded us are borne out equally well within the separate counties. County Clare, for instance, shares fully in the internal cattle trade. And in Clare, the trade flows from small farmers to large. There are no statistics on the matter, but the generalities hold. Clare occupies a middle place within the system of exchanges. It is one of the seven southwestern dairying counties we have dealt with. But it does not always follow them statistically. As we have seen, Clare is a county of mixed holdings. Both the midland type of big farmer and the small farmer of the west and south are present. The cattle trade within Clare is a miniature of

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



231 438 that of Ireland. Clare buys in as many cattle in certain sections as it exports in others. Those who do the bulk of the buying are big farmers from the flatlands along the Fergus estuary or the hills of Burren. The small farmers of the remaining sections do the selling.

All this tedious statistical inquiry has not been without its purpose. It has established for us through the medium of economic inquiry the existence of two distinct kinds of orientation and adaptation to the soil and two kinds of agricultural activity. In doing so, in marking the first distinctions and differences to be observed among the dwellers of the countryside and showing us something of the relations between them, it has introduced us to the first great group with which we must deal: the small farmers.

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



types, varieties, growth cycles, yields, and care of seeds and cattle passes round by word of mouth.

The first of February, St. Brigid's Day, marks the beginning of spring. For the countryman the return of the "hard" days of wind and clear weather herald the season of the land's drying off. Through February and March the gardens must be prepared, potatoes planted, and the fields made ready for the return of the cattle to them. Each hard day is a welcome opportunity, for only then can work in the fields go on. With favorable weather, the work of preparation is over in the beginning of March, and the actual planting begins. By St. Patrick's Day, with its promise of continuous hard weather, the gardens are ready for a second planting.

The potatoes demand the greatest attention. A fortnight after they are planted, they must be manured well with manure brought from the pile near the cattle cabins, and the ground must be leveled so that the plant will not go to stalk and thus fail to produce tubers. A fortnight more and the ground must be "softened" and the earth round the plant, which now shows its first leaves, must be "stirred." By the time May is reached, the potatoes must be "landed." Earth must be taken from between the long ridges in which the potatoes are planted and heaped up over them from each side. Thereafter nothing remains until the harvest but a summer spraying against blight.

Throughout the spring the cattle have demanded attention. March and April see the birth of calves and the beginning of the milk season and intensified butter-making. The great spring cattle fairs take place. The farmer must devote himself to the all-important business of buying and selling his milch and store cattle and his calves. At home the cattle demand constant care against hunger, disease, and cold as he mixes their diet of fast diminishing hay with the slowly returning pasture grass.

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



though he may have seen very little of either beyond his market towns. The small farmer of Luogh has allegiances to all these communities. He is quite ready to find his emotion stirred in any one of them. He is ready to back the men of Luogh against the men of the neighboring townland; to back those of the mountain region against those of the valley lands; those of his parish against the rest; those of the countryside against the towns of Lisdoonvarna and Ennistymon; those of North Clare against other sections of the county; those of Clare against all other counties; those of his class against all others; of his religion against all others; of his nation against all others. Each one of these allegiances has a geographical base, though in the last analysis each one of these is built up out of his personal experience of human relations.

A study of the local community among the small farmers must thus be a study of the geographic basis of their relationships. In the course of such study an inquiry into the spatial relationships involved in the distribution of produce and shop goods between the farms and the market towns is a first step.

The chief agencies of distribution in the countryside draw upon well-marked areas. Each crossroad shop, each hamlet, each market town, each fair, has its own hinterland. In recent years creameries have grown up at strategic places. Likewise, in the same years, larger towns have pushed their hinterlands farther back into the country districts, and motor lorries go even into the back roads.

The definition of such market areas and the demarcation of those into which such a rural county as Clare can be divided is a relatively simple task. It can be reached by plotting out on the map lists of customers' names and addresses obtained from each of the myriad crossroad centers and clusters of shops sprinkled over the county, combining them with others obtained from records of tolls paid by

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



438 farmers in larger centers. This information can be checked with the testimony of farmers themselves as to where they do their buying and selling. It can be checked again with testimony upon the part of shopkeepers in the market towns as to the area from which they draw their clientele.

Plotting out these lists gives a picture of many superimposed areas. The smallest of all of them groups only a few townlands together about a crossroad or a hamlet. These areas about hamlets cluster together in turn, along the roads, to form larger areas about a village. The area about a village groups together with that round other villages, again depending upon the terrain and the roads, to form a larger district around one of the larger towns. These town-encircling areas themselves fall together to form still larger districts embracing all the farms trading in the largest centers such as Ennis, the county seat of 6,000 population, Kilrush, the metropolis of the West Clare peninsula of 4,000 population, and the city of Limerick. For Limerick draws farmers along the main roads as far as Newmarket-on-Fergus, fifteen miles into Clare. The whole county, of course, centers ultimately in Limerick, since rail, road, and river all lead there rather than over the upland divides to Galway city to the north.

443 Local fairs figure in this plotting. Traditional long-established fairs are sometimes not held within the confines of a town of the present day, though all but a few of them now take place in the streets of some town or on a modern fair-green set aside at one edge of a town. Nevertheless, the areas from which farmers come to fairs yield the same picture of overlapping distributions. The smaller fairs of little attendance draw from the smaller areas, which group together in turn. Widest of all are the areas of the largest fairs, held at Ennis and Kilrush. And there is not a village to be found on the map that does not have its fairs, carefully scheduled so that within the immediate area there will be

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



TABLE 8 (*continued*)

443 Killaloe, third Monday in January, February 28, March 28, April 12, May 20, June 26, July 16, August 12, September 3, October 20, November 17, first Tuesday after Christmas, cattle and sheep
Kilmihill, January 7, February 15, March 30, May 19, July 18, August 15, September 28, November 1, December 13
Kilmurry M'Mahon, May 24
Kilrush, last Wednesday in each month, for pigs; January 16, February 22, April 13, May 10, June 12, September 1, October 12, November 16, for cattle and sheep; March 25, first Thursday in June, October 10, November 23, for horses
Labasheeda, June 10, August 10, October 10, December 10
Liscannor, January 6
Lisdoonvarna, April 1, May 1, November 1, December 1
Miltown Malbay, February 1, March 9, May 4, June 21, August 11, September 10, October 18, December 9. Pigs first Thursday of each month
Mullagh, January 1, March 17
Newmarket-on-Fergus, December 20
O'Brien's Bridge, March 18, July 25, November 17
O'Callaghan's Mills, June 27, November 14
Quin, July 7 (cattle and sheep), November 1 (horses, cattle, and sheep)
Ruane, June 17, September 26
Scarriff, January 5, February 1, March 3, April 3, May 1, June 2, July 5, August 2, September 6, October 4, November 3, December 9, pigs day previous
Sixmilebridge, December 5
Spancil-hill, June 23, 24
Tulla, last Tuesday in January and February, March 25, April 25, May 13, June 15, July 19, August 15, September 29, October 19, November 9, December 7

438 133 In these ever-larger overlapping market areas the natural physical divisions of the countryside are well represented. The great central mass of Mount Callan divides West Clare from the rest of the county. It divides as well the market districts of Ennis and Kilrush. In the valley of the Fergus River, which drains the highlands of Mid-Clare to the north and East Clare beyond the corcasses (rough marshlands) to the east, the human flow of trade and produce exchange tends downward to the towns of Ennis and Clarecastle, at the head of tidewater. The high country marking the divides over into the Inagh and Cullinagh rivers and into the lake country of North Clare, just south of the gaunt hills 438 of Burren, divides the market district of Ennis from the smaller districts upon which the villages of Ennistymon, Corrofin, and Lisdoonvarna draw. Yet these villages in their turn are within the region of Clare from which the

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



farmers converge upon Ennis. In each case a center, whether a larger market town or one of the smaller villages, serves a natural area demarcated by the configuration of the land and the course of the roads.

In such natural regions, particularly in more remote and mountainous country, the roads determine the intercourse of the communities with one another. Today each focal point is joined with another by a motor road. As the roads wind out from the larger centers, shops come to be placed at the strategic crossroad; a public house springs up; perhaps a schoolhouse, a parochial house, a chapel of the parish, rise beside them. Nowadays creameries are put up at these or still other points along the roads, where they are most conveniently accessible to small and medium farms producing milk. Even more recently lorries have begun to come direct to the crossroad to pick up produce that once, before motor traffic, had to be carried by the farmers themselves all the way to town.

Plotting out the market areas of the towns and villages of the countryside reveals a characteristic of social and economic space even here where the deepest hinterlands are never more than a half-day's leisurely trip by horse and cart. Any list of customers plotted by residence around a minor center gives an area which extends considerably farther in the direction away from the nearest larger center than it does in the direction leading to it. The minor centers draw principally from the hinterlands behind them and their areas extend only a little way along the roads in the direction of the next larger center. Ennistymon in North Clare draws custom twelve miles to the north, but to the south its influence reaches only three miles up the valley of the Inagh River, where the region of the larger center, Ennis, begins. Ennis itself serves all Clare, and its own immediate area extends, to judge from the residences of the farmers who come to buy and sell in her markets, beyond Ennistymon

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



438 to the north and as far as Killadysert to the south. In the direction of Limerick, the metropolis of southwest Ireland, however, the influence of Ennis ends at Newmarket-on-Fergus, a scant five miles off.

491 Today the roads both great and small provide all-weather
494 routes for every kind of local traffic. They carry many lorries
496 and not a few buses in competition with the only local railroad — the small and winding West Clare Railroad, which joins Kilrush and Kilkee to Ennis and Limerick in the east, and Gort and Galway in the north, tapping Ennistymon and Corrofin on the way through, all this in the roundabout leisurely fashion of the earlier days of railroading.

491 The main roads are much more direct. They follow divides and occasionally cut right across high bog country. Today they negotiate bogs, which once would have prohibited any sort of transportation during wet weather, by dint of side ditches and high crowns of gravel and dirt. Over high country they have better foundations and wander in comparatively straight fashion through the country.

491 At various points along these main roads there are
653 branches today penetrating the countryside. These are rougher and simpler constructions of crushed stones taken from local quarries, leased by the County Council. The stone is broken by laborers and small farmers of the district through which the road runs. In the case of the smaller roads each landholder is responsible for the bit of the road that runs by his land. "Road metal," as the crushed stone is called, is spread during the late autumn, winter, or very early spring. When the weather is dry, in summer, a fine white dust rises after every vehicle. But in the rainy months of spring and winter the roads are soft and full of chuck holes, and new stones must be laid down. Then the heavy [493] iron-tired carts of the farmers break them further and press them into the soft roadbeds.

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



The methods of transport in the countryside are related
489 to the distances to be traveled and the errands to be run. These things are matters of the organization and relationships of family and community. It is not only the means of transport which can be related to the constituent relationships of country social life. Each kind of farm product exported and farm need purchased involves a different distance of travel, a holder of a different status in family and community, and a different relation with the outsider.

489 The goods the farmer produces travel to the centers at
443 which they are exchanged over distances which are com-
438 mensurate with their value, their importance in farm economy, and their association with the status of the persons in the rural communities under whose charge they are produced. Horses take most care, are most valuable, and are the very special charge of the man of the house. The horse fair accordingly draws from the largest area. Cattle are the great money crop, the export staple. Accordingly the cattle fairs are among the chief lodestones of the larger centers, drawing from the deepest hinterlands of the major market areas. They are masculine affairs. Likewise potatoes and corn crops, oats, come to market only in the major centers. Farm fathers bring them down by horse and car from the deepest hinterlands.

Pigs represent a much shorter period of work and care. They are often in woman's province. The pig fairs are smaller gatherings, held in small centers, drawing from small hinterlands. Lesser vegetables, principally cabbage, travel no such distance as potatoes, and women often sell them. Finally, butter and eggs travel the shortest distance of all. They are often bartered at the crossroad centers. Before creameries were introduced, salted firkins or tubs of butter, representing a longer accumulation, went longer distances to the village centers.

234 Creamery associations were not established until the
438 middle of the time of research in County Clare. They are

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ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



part of a new economics which brings distributing agencies to the farmer's door. Consequently they do not fit this picture and are among the great forces of gradual change. They have made dairying the pursuit of the farm father, as it was not before. Like motor lorries, they represent the new geographic order that is gradually overcoming the old.

The goods that reach the farmer cover distances between their ultimate distributing center and consumer in the farm families in the same proportion as they are bound in with the statuses and relationships in work and life of the familistically organized groups. The men go to the larger towns with or without their wives for the larger annual purchases of boots and cloth goods or furniture or tools and implements. The boys may go for the more ordinary purchases of flour and foodstuffs and feeds and so on, to be bought in their fathers' names, to the local centers and villages. The household needs from day to day are the women's province. Tallow, candles, oil, sugar, tea, are to be had either in the villages or in the crossroad centers. The only need the men may fill so close to home is the recurrent hunger for tobacco and drink.

If we turn this view of travel and distribution and personal relationship into generality, we see that the pattern is such that it fits those of community life we have described. In the masculine sphere of life the disposal of produce means masculine travel and masculine building of relationship with the outside world of greatest geographical range. Taking each item of masculine produce in the descending order of its importance to the farm families, the area out of which the product is brought to a center is progressively smaller. The same fact is true of the feminine produce, with the difference, of course, that the range is smaller to begin with. The area of widest contacts established by women and the areas drawn upon by women and the areas

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



438 462 484 drawn upon by centers of distribution of women's produce are always much less in extent than those of men.

It is not enough to point out that the distance to be traveled and the size of the area which a center serves are in direct proportion to the monetary value of the goods concerned. This is the case. It is an old story among economists. But like all generalities it does not fail to have many exceptions. The point of interest is not the monetary but the sociological aspect of the matter.

438 484 571

Areas of distributive service coincide roughly with areas of personal contact and habitual travel. They coincide also with areas of effective social relationship. Thus there is a direct correlation between the area over which a peasant moves and has social relations and the value of the product he raises, as the economist would point out. But the source of this correlation is not to be found in economic considerations alone. The economic matters are themselves the outcome of the patterning of activities between persons. They show us the interdependence of the internal organization of the peasant community and the relationships making that community's articulation with the outside world.

Nothing in the world prevents any small farmer from going to Dublin markets to sell his cattle, not even the price of the ticket, for he has that. But he goes only so rarely as to make the fact negligible. On the other hand, the big farmer, the cattleman, in County Clare habitually goes farther, buying and selling far beyond the confines of the local market areas, purchasing his household and family goods in the great urban centers, patronizing even a Dublin tailor sometimes. The difference in travel is a part once again of the difference by class and economy between large farmer and small. The small farmer's community is made up of the persons related to him who are also small farmers and the persons who connect these men with the outside world. This we saw in the discussion of occupations. The

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



market areas are the areas of effective, habitual relationship among farmers. They are definable only in terms of social relations made up of the acts of specific local persons. Such relations differ in duration and the frequency of the events making them up. Change such relations and geography is changed. For a human setting geography is merely the locus of relationship. The system of distribution that orders space in rural Ireland functions to do so within a system of social relations, which we have called familism.

It is not surprising that the relationships existing between the small farmers and their local distributing agencies go farther by far than economic acts of barter, purchase, and sale. The country crossroad shopkeepers, especially, win very special status in rural communities out of these relationships. In Ireland and in Clare shopkeeping is predominantly an urban and small-town trade. Yet shops are numerous and important in the country districts, and a word must be said of them.

In typical western rural communities the smallest and poorest of the crossroad shops, serving the minutest areas, are ordinary cottages or farmhouses. The slightest alteration has sufficed to turn one of the rooms into an emporium where makeshift till, counter, and shelves carry little more than tobacco, matches, oil, and a few sweets and small sundries.

Such a shop is usually run by a woman, who subsists upon it and a plot of land or garden. She is often a widow, or the wife of a local tradesman. In many cases the little shop is the local post office as well, and a salary from the state contributes to the owner's upkeep. Such a shop is sometimes, too, a local gathering place for the boys, in the way the local smithy once was such a gathering place. The boys get their fags here. It is encumbent upon the woman who keeps the shop to make them presents at Christmas time, in recognition of their custom. Everyone agrees that the woman

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



443 morning. To dress, snatch a cup of tea, and bless himself
484 takes only a moment. Usually he has arranged for companionship, and he and his neighbors drive their beasts along the roads together. Company makes the night less lonely and the handling of the animals easier. Driving them is a skilled task against the dangers of the road, both natural and eerie. The men hope to reach the site of the fair before daybreak. They want to arrive in time to find a "good pitch," as they call it. They want to take their stand in the drawn-up lines of men and beasts where buyers are most likely to notice them. His pitch taken, each man stands over his beasts, ready for the inspection of buyers, careful that his beasts do not wander off or get mixed up with the others.

443 As dawn breaks, the buyers arrive. They are nearly always
438 cattle dealers and big farmers. Only occasionally are they local men. One can recognize them as they hurry about, [291] businesslike, wearing trench coat, bowler, and leggings. The costume is practically a uniform with them, quite different from the drab coats and boots of the countrymen. They carry chalk or scissors and pencils and a notebook to mark the beasts of their choice and record their purchases.

In the good days of high prices, as during the World War, the buyers arrive even before dawn and buy by lantern light. All the good beasts of the fair may be gone by the time the sun comes up. On occasions of little demand, however, the buyers have time to look about carefully and make the exhaustive tests of quality that long experience has convinced them are the secret of commercial success.

443 The procedure of choice, bargaining, and sale is as un-
437 changing a ritual as any church provides. The buyer — dealer or farmer — strolls unconcernedly along the lines of farmers and their beasts. Here and there he greets an acquaintance. But he is appraising the animals all the while. Rigid custom forbids his breaking in on a bargain already

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare



443 center. Only in the central largest town of a whole area is Saturday the market day *par excellence*. In Clare, for instance, only Ennis and Kilrush have Saturday markets. Smaller centers set other days of the week aside.

In the larger towns such markets may be held in stores and yards owned by the municipality. More often custom has set aside a section of a street or a central square for each kind of produce. In Ennis a separate yard and shed serves as a butter market, another yard and shed with a weighhouse serves for corn and wool. Pigs, lambs, cabbage, and other vegetables are sold in the streets.

The principal commodities sold at the weekly markets in Clare are oats, mangels, turnips, wool, potatoes, hay, straw, cabbage, calves, lambs, kids (an Easter delicacy), pigs, bonhams, chickens, geese, other poultry. Records of these sales itemize the commerce of the whole hinterland in agricultural produce. Public institutions in the town buy through contracts awarded to various suppliers, the weighing and delivery taking place through the public market. Dealers for each product visit the markets. Even those who have come recently to use lorries that tour the country crossroads still appear at the weekly markets.

443 For those interested in a typical view of this kind of commerce, Table 9 presents a picture of the tolls received in the 438 town of Ennis during the years 1927–33. The table is arranged as a calendar and gives average toll receipts for each product for each month during the period. One can see the monthly fluctuations at a glance and the annual periods of activity in sales. The chief change during the period was the dropping off of butter sales, a fact accounted for by the rise of creameries in other parts of the county and the introduction of the lorry. Otherwise sales were of much the same volume each year. As the tolls were constant during the period charted, the figures are a very good index to the local produce marketed.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

## TABLE 9

### Sales of Ennis Market, 1927–1933 [a]

| Item | April | May | June | July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | Jan. | Feb. | March |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cattle | £54.00 | ? [a] | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20.00 | ? [a] | 0 | ? [g] | 30.00 | 41.00 | 44.00 |
| Sheep | £19.00 | ? [b] | 0 | ? [e] | 0 | ? [d] | ? [f] | 0 | ? [h] | 3.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 |
| Butter | £ 8.00 | 18.00 | 25.00 | 27.00 | 32.00 | 28.00 | 26.00 | 15.00 | 6.00 | 4.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 |
| Potatoes | £14.00 | 9.00 | 6.00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 5.00 | 6.00 | 7.00 | 9.00 | 9.00 | 17.00 |
| Roots | £ 3.00 | .75 | .13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 5.00 | 4.00 | 4.00 |
| Corn | £ 3.00 | .50 | .13 | 0 | 0 | 12.00 | 30.00 | 29.00 | 17.00 | 8.00 | 5.00 | 9.00 |
| Hay | £13.00 | 1.00 | .13 | .13 | 1.50 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 | 9.00 |
| Wool | £ .75 | 2.00 | 13.00 | 7.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 7.00 | 2.00 | .50 | .20 | 1.00 | .50 |
| Pigs | 262 | 56 | 37 | 46 | 76 | 118 | 115 | 118 | 118 | 94 | 84 | 90 |
| Bonhams | 2122 | 155 | 111 | 84 | 94 | 99 | 117 | 115 | 64 | 42 | 59 | 112 |

[a] Toll receipts are given in pounds or hundredths of pounds except in the case of the last two, which are given in shillings. The figures are average total receipts for the month named over the six-year period.

[a] Figures only for 1928, 1932 (£49, £11 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.
[b] Figures only for 1928, 1932 (£22, £17 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.
[c] Figures only for 1932 (£4). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.
[d] Figures only for 1931, 1932 (£8, £12 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.
[e] Figures only for 1932 (£18). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.
[f] Figures only for 1931, 1932 (£35, £37 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.
[g] Figures only for 1932 (£11). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.
[h] Figures only for 1931, 1932 (£9, £10 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.

[Ep 307]

443
438

000 problems. The range of commodities
433 available on the island is restricted. But the farms are similar to those in Connemara, and the fishing—especially for lobsters—may in some years be distinctly profitable. Peat is still available and no coal is imported. Once the peat is used up, it is hard to maintain existence on these remote islands. And if the population diminishes to very small numbers, its very maintenance may become precarious or impossible as on Inishark (p. 208). Inishbofin's present population is maintained partly
434 by the help of various government
657 schemes, by the remittances of relatives,
167 or—in comparatively few instances—by periodic spells of residence in England to make money as laborers or domestic servants. Incidentally, the
[191] people are entirely English-speaking: the Irish speech was lost almost 60 years ago.

291 Home spinning and weaving of fab-
438 rics is now extinct. In 1893, it was noted that most of the clothing was
[286] made from "homespun and home-dyed woollen fabrics" but that "imported shop clothes of inferior quality" were replacing them.[6] Inishbofin people have no longer the homespun clothes still worn by the people of the Aran islands in Galway Bay: only one old woman was seen in the traditional red skirt (or petticoat) dyed with imported madder. Clothes are now bought in the local shops, or during occasional visits to Clifden, which is "town" to the islanders, or to Galway, or from mail order houses in Dublin. Even a journey
484 to Clifden involves seven miles in a hooker and seven miles along a road with no public conveyance, and Galway
[497] is a further 50 miles by bus as the light railway was closed in 1925.

[6] C. R. Browne: The Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishark, County Galway, Proc. Royal Irish Acad., 3rd series, Vol. 3, 1893–96, p. 354.

[p. 203(B)]
[Text continues on p. 204(B)]

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

## POTS AND PANS

Despite certain conservative elements it must be recognized that very great changes have taken place in the Irishman's diet in recent centuries. Tea and the potato, invaders from east and west, have largely replaced whitemeats, although another more recent pair of intruders, maize-meal and rice, distributed by the British government during the famine, have made no such conquest. Dr. Salaman has fully discussed the depressing effects of the potato on diet and culture.[1] Unless one has seen a peasant family sitting down to a meal of boiled potatoes it is hardly possible to credit the consumption figures. It used to be reckoned that a stone a day was the allowance for a labourer, and it was 'by no means uncommon, in times of plenty, for a labourer to eat 14 lb. of potatoes at a meal'.[2] An average consumption of 8 lb. per day for each member of a family is well authenticated. It is not surprising that there was a general craving for 'kitchen', tasty relishes such as strong butter when this bulky, starchy and monotonous food came to dominate the Irish diet. There seems to have been an expansion of sea fishing to keep pace with the demand for 'kitchen'. Down to recent times salt fish were hawked through the autumn countryside by noisy 'cadgers', and the careful housewife would have a barrel or two of salt herrings put by for the winter. One is reminded of the 'relishes' with which many African peoples relieve the monotony of a diet of mealies.

One of the many Irish customs which the English found revolting was the bleeding of cattle. Fynes Moryson wrote: 'they often let their cows' blood, eating the congealed blood with butter'.[3] Arthur Young notes that in Wicklow 'they bleed their horses and cows, and mix the blood with meal for food'.[4] In Ulster cattle were bled 'in a smooth place, the coagulating blood being strewn with salt until a little mound was formed. This was cut up into squares and 'laid by for use as food in the scarce time of the year'.[5] Unfortunately few details of the bleeding operation have come down to us though I have been told that it was customary to close the wound with a cloven stick.

[1] R. N. Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* (1949), chs. 11–18.
[2] I. Weld, *Roscommon* (1832), 429.
[3] Fynes Moryson, *The Manners and Customs of Ireland*, 321.
[4] A. Young, *Tour*, 2, 62.
[5] C. Otway, *Sketches in Erris and Tyrawly* (1841), 333.

to:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag



291
[513] [515] underclothing retained. The latter practice reflects extreme modesty as well as the need for warmth. Islanders have an obsessive fear of nakedness which permits them, after infancy, to bathe only their feet, hands, and face and precludes bathing in the sea and the use of bathtubs.

## Crafts

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434 [501] [298] Of the several crafts practiced in Inis Beag, only three are strictly income instead of combined subsistence-income activities: the manufacture of *curach* by four men, the mass production of stockings by four girls in the factory at the coast guard station, and the fashioning of miniature canoes by a single man.
[294] [438] [657] [437] Sweaters, woven belts, cowhide shoes, and the small multi-colored shawls are made both for local wear and for export. Most of the exported sweaters are sold to a particular mainland firm for resale, as are all of the model canoes, and the factory is sponsored by Gaeltacht Eireann which markets the stockings produced. Other craft commodities are sold by the folk directly to consumers, most of whom are tourists.

501 [171] [174] [178] The long rowing canoe of Inis Beag is distributed widely along the west coast of Ireland, from Cos. Donegal to Kerry, and its seaworthy qualities as well as the rowing skill of the crews which sail it are renowned. One of a number of varieties of the coracle, which has a heritage extending back to the Mesolithic, it is built of deal and oak lathes and covered with tarred canvas (see Fig 10). Before canvas was introduced, untanned seal, cow, and horse hides were used for covering, and these were reported from a nearby island less than 100 years ago. The *curach* is approximately 20 feet in length, has a high pointed nose, is round bellied and lacks a keel, draws less than 6 inches of water, and is rowed with narrow 10-feet-
501 long oars. These oars are bladeless for use in rough seas and are pivoted on single
502 tholepins rather than in oarlocks. The looms of the oars overlap, so that oarsmen must pull cross-handed, and on long journeys a lug sail is hoisted to relieve the crew. For the neophyte, rowing a *curach* cross-handed in a heavy sea can be even more abusive of the hands than rebuilding a gateway in a stone fence. Most canoes hold three men—are "three-oared"—but two-, four-, and even five-men *curach* were or are used. Loads up to a ton and a half can be accommodated, and trussed asses, sheep, and horses sometimes are transported in them.

501 [502] [433] [322] [184] Forty-two householders in Inis Beag own three-men canoes, among whom three have additional two-oared *curach*. The craft are stored upside down in "cots" on either side of the strand along the margins of the common land, although Terrace villagers use a small beach along the northeast coast of the island; they are carried between the cots and the water upside down on the shoulders of the crew, and in that position resemble gigantic beetles. Two Inis Beag men are at work building canoes most of the time, and when they are not busy at this task they construct furniture for local sale. Two other men manufacture *curach* occasionally, and another two who once built them have discontinued the practice. No canoe makers are found elsewhere in the region; therefore, Inis Beag artisans serve the

17: Messenger E-4,5 (1958-1966)1971 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
Inis Beag



Celts. But local legend, historical evidence, and genealogical data collected by my wife and me indicate that the present population is descended from immigrants who came to the island from many parts of Ireland following the Cromwellian incursion of the seventeenth century. The islanders still express bitterness over conditions of poverty and servitude experienced by their ancestors during the 300 years that they lived under absentee Anglo-Irish landlords. All of the excesses of foreign domination suffered by mainland peasants were suffered by the inhabitants of Inis Beag, but were aggravated by the ordinary hardships of island living. Little was known about events in Inis Beag during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries until the island was visited by archeologists and publicized in their scientific writings. The surrounding area of the mainland was very much isolated and seldom visited at that time, although trading between Inis Beag and nearby communities was carried on, and passing ships sometimes called at the island.

Agricultural pursuits have always dominated the subsistence economy of Inis Beag. Most householders own land on which they grow potatoes and other vegetables, grass, and sometimes rye and sally rods and where they pasture cattle, sheep, goats, asses, and horses. The back of the island, behind the communities, is divided into four strips, and each landowner possesses numerous plots located along the "quarter" on which his village fronts. The average combined holding is sixteen acres, and almost 50 percent of the land is composed of arable indigenous and manufactured soils. Potatoes are the staple crop, and they are supplemented by various other vegetables, milk from cattle and goats, meat from island sheep, fish, eggs, and other foods, many of which are imported and sold in the shops. Rye is grown for thatching, and sally rods are used to weave several types of containers. Other subsistence activities (which also provide income for some folk) are knitting, weaving, crocheting, tailoring, and sandal making.

A slowly expanding cash economy features the export of cattle and sheep fattened on the island and of surplus potatoes and fish, the collection of seaweed for extraction of iodine at a mainland factory, the keeping of tourists in private homes, and the manufacturing of craft objects for sale to visitors and for export. At the turn of the century, fishing from canoes—with nets and lines often many miles out in the ocean—was an important subsistence and income activity. A few islanders who owned little or no land lived primarily by fishing and kelp-making. But over the past few decades, fish have become less plentiful and the weather more inclement, especially during winter